

6 JUL '34

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LIBERTY

A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM



H. A. ROBERTS



CONSTITUTION AND NATIONAL
EMERGENCIES—FREEDOM'S CRY
HEARD AGAIN AT LEXINGTON

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Religious Liberty Association

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

1. We believe in God, in the Bible as the word of God, and in the separation of church and state as taught by Jesus Christ.
2. We believe that the ten commandments are the law of God, and that they comprehend man's whole duty to God and man.
3. We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ is founded in the law of love of God, and needs no human power to support or enforce it. Love cannot be forced.
4. We believe in civil government as divinely ordained to protect men in the enjoyment of their natural rights and to rule in civil things, and that in this realm it is entitled to the respectful obedience of all.
5. We believe it is the right, and should be the privilege, of every individual to worship or not to worship, according to the dictates of his own conscience, provided that in the exercise of this right he respects the equal rights of others.
6. We believe that all religious legislation tends to unite church and state, is subversive of human rights, persecuting in character, and opposed to the best interests of both church and state.
7. We believe, therefore, that it is not within the province of civil government to legislate on religious questions.
8. We believe it to be our duty to use every lawful and honorable means to prevent religious legislation, and oppose all movements tending to unite church and state, that all may enjoy the inestimable blessings of civil and religious liberty.
9. We believe in the inalienable and constitutional right of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and petition.
10. We also believe in temperance, and regard the liquor traffic as a curse to society.

For further information regarding the principles of this association, address the Religious Liberty Association, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C. (secretary, C. S. Longacre; associates, H. H. Votaw and M. C. Taft), or any of the affiliated organizations given below:

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A MAGAZINE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

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CHARLES L. LONGACRE, Editor

CALVIN P. BOLLMAN, Managing Editor

HEBER H. VOTAW and M. C. TAFT, Associate Editors

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*The Supreme Court of the United States As It Appeared at the Time
of the Civil War*

Left to Right—Middleton (clerk), Associate Justices Davis, Swayne, Grier, Wayne, Chief Justice Chase, Associate Justices Nelson, Clifford, Miller, Field.

Excerpt From the Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States,
Rendered by Associate Justice Davis in the Case of *Ex Parte Milligan*, Found
in 4 Wallace, Pages 1-142:

"THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES IS A LAW FOR RULERS AND PEOPLE, EQUALLY IN WAR AND IN PEACE, AND COVERS WITH THE SHIELD OF ITS PROTECTION ALL CLASSES OF MEN, AT ALL TIMES, AND UNDER ALL CIRCUMSTANCES. NO DOCTRINE, INVOLVING MORE PERNICIOUS CONSEQUENCES, WAS EVER INVENTED BY THE WIT OF MAN THAN THAT ANY OF ITS PROVISIONS CAN BE SUSPENDED DURING ANY OF THE GREAT EXIGENCIES OF GOVERNMENT. SUCH A DOCTRINE LEADS DIRECTLY TO ANARCHY OR DESPOTISM, BUT THE THEORY OF NECESSITY ON WHICH IT IS BASED IS FALSE; FOR THE GOVERNMENT, WITHIN THE CONSTITUTION, HAS ALL THE POWERS GRANTED TO IT, WHICH ARE NECESSARY TO PRESERVE ITS EXISTENCE."



Fundamental Law in Times of Stress as Well as in Days of Tranquillity

IS Our Constitution Broad Enough to Deal With All NATIONAL EMERGENCIES

?

**Read This Peroration of
Senator William E. Borah's
Masterful Address on
This Subject**

SENATOR
WILLIAM E. BORAH, of Idaho, delivered a masterful speech in the United States Senate on May 17 in defense of the national Constitution, which is being circumvented, overridden, and suspended by legislative acts on the pretext that we are facing an emergency that justifies such a course of action. Senator Borah sounds an alarm, and points out the dangers facing constitutional government. When he concluded his speech, many of the Democratic Senators marched to his seat and congratulated him, "which is praise, indeed, in a place where making speeches is the chief occupation," says the *Washington Post*.

We have space for only the peroration of Mr. Borah's address, at the beginning of which he cited a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. His concluding remarks were as follows:

"Mr. President, I conclude my remarks by reading from an old case of which I am very fond. It is the case of *Ex Parte Milligan*, found in 4 Wall. It arose out of the conditions which presented the most searching and aw-

ful emergency the country has ever known, and I pray that it may ever know, an emergency which involved the life of this blessed Republic. It says:

"The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine, involving more pernicious consequences, was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the Government, within the Constitution, has all the powers granted to it, which are necessary to preserve its existence."

"Mr. President, the people and the people alone may change the Constitution. Emergencies cannot do so. The terms and provisions of the Constitution, the very genius of the instrument itself, can leave no one in doubt that it was made to deal with great national emergencies. Under it there is no want of power, no want of authority to enable a nation to meet and master all emergencies.

"The Constitution was not the handiwork of men unschooled in practical affairs, of theorists and dreamers. It was written by men who all their lives had been compelled to look upon, to contend with, emergencies. It was framed at a time when the whole world was in turmoil and strife, when our own colonies were contending with all those problems which spring from disordered finance, from overwhelming debts, from the absence of credit, and the complete breakdown of trade and commerce. A great and overwhelming emergency hovered about and threatened to engulf the whole vast adventure of free government in utter and everlasting ruin, even at the very hour these immortal lawgivers gathered for the purpose of planning a new scheme of government and framing a national charter. This Constitution is the child of one of the great emergencies of all times.

"I know it will be said that this delegation of power is for a limited time and is given to one in whom the people have great confidence. But the precedent which Franklin D. Roosevelt establishes will be claimed and enlarged upon by all his successors, whoever they may be. Precedents established by competent hands for desirable purposes

are still precedents for incapable hands and undesirable purposes. Let us see how precedents grow.

"Mr. Hoover asked power to change tariff rates. It was a vicious power. In my opinion, it ought never to have been given. But under the plea of service to the people and under the plea of party loyalty, it was given. Franklin D. Roosevelt succeeds Mr. Hoover, and, using that precedent as a stepping-stone, goes an arrow's flight beyond his predecessor. If I were going to search the realm of possibilities for the most subtle, the most insidious, the most persistent, and most insatiable foe of a constitutional government, I would say that that enemy is to be found in precedents established outside the Constitution in the name of the people and under the party lash. A precedent once thus established, no one can know its ultimate use or effect. A child may play across the Mississippi at its source, but as it flows on, gathering strength, it may inundate territory, submerge farms, destroy property and life, and divide a continent.

"Mr. President, the integrity of constitutional government has never meant so much to the average man and woman, to the common people, as Abraham Lincoln was wont to say, as it does at this hour. Nowhere on the round globe today do the common people enjoy the blessings of personal freedom except under constitutional democracy—there, and there alone, are to be found a free press, free speech, personal liberty, and all those priceless blessings which distinguish the citizens of a free country from the hunted, helpless, managed individuals who make up the cogs in the soulless machine of some absolute state.

"THE INTEGRITY OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER MEANT SO MUCH TO THE AVERAGE MAN AND WOMAN, TO THE COMMON PEOPLE, AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN WAS WONT TO SAY, AS IT DOES AT THIS HOUR."

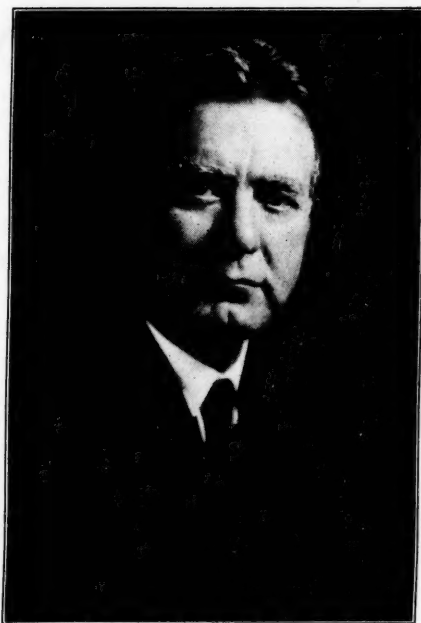
"WE HAVE HAD EMERGEN-
CIES IN THE PAST. WE HAVE
HAD MORE THAN ONE HOUR
OF PERIL. THE CONSTITUTION
HAS BEEN SUFFICIENT AND
EFFICIENT IN ALL INSTANCES.
AND NOW, OF ALL TIMES, WE
SHOULD SHOW OUR FAITH IN,
OUR DEVOTION TO, OUR FORM
OF GOVERNMENT."

Fascism, Naziism, Communism, appealing to the forces of terror and fanaticism, have submerged, buried, the individual beneath the schemes of personal aggrandizement. They have challenged democracy, and they have challenged democracy because democracy stands for free speech and personal liberty.

"Neither Fascism, Naziism, nor Communism as a form of government could exist for a fortnight in the pure atmosphere of intellectual freedom. These governments rest upon the political serfdom of the masses. They depend for perpetuity upon the economic and political enslavement of the people. They begin and they continue so long as they continue by putting chains upon the limbs and fetters upon the brain.

"Constitutional democracy is the only scheme of government which preserves, or pretends to preserve, the rights, the liberties, of the average man and woman; it is the only government which makes personal liberty the keystone of the arch, which rests its right to live upon the loyalty and love of its supporters.

"Mr. President, let us not be deceived. All these forms of government which disregard the rights and liberties of the individual and emphasize the dictatorship and omnipotence of the state, are but throwbacks to the days when the great body of the people were regarded as the mudsills of society—when the humble citizen was fit only to work and slave and fight and die for the glory of the king. There is not a principle, not



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U. S. Senator William E. Borah

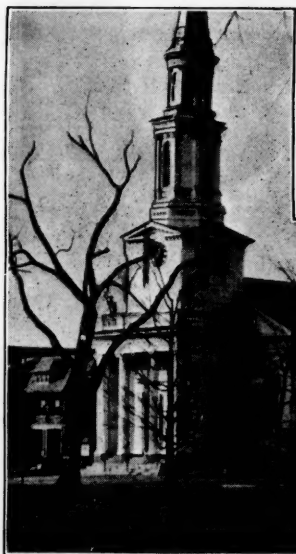
a tenet, not a doctrine of Fascism or Naziism, which may not be found in the brutal creeds of every tyrant who has robbed the people of their liberties from the dawn of history down to the miserable representatives of despotic power who disappeared in the smoke and flames of the World War. They are all of the same creed, of the same faith, the same beliefs. They hate personal liberty. They are conspirators against the most sacred rights of the citizen.

"The voice of Fascism has lately declared that 'liberty is a rotten carcass.' So it has always been a rotten carcass from the beginning with all those who deride, decry, and denounce democracy. These governments are not going forward; they are going back—back to serfdom and slavery, back to intolerance and tribalism, back a thousand years, when the people were lashed into submission by the iron discipline of a dictator.

(Continued on page 83)

Freedom's Cry Heard Again at Lexington

**Citizens Submit a Protest to
Congress on the 159th Anni-
versary of the First Battle for
American Liberty**



EWING GALLOWAY, N. Y.

THE shots that were fired at Lexington, Massachusetts, by the minutemen on April 19, 1775, were heard around the world. It was the opening battle in the struggle for freedom in America. It sounded the death knell for oppressive government and oppressive laws enacted by public officials who were not responsible to the people for their acts.

On the eve of the 159th anniversary of the Battle of Lexington and its observance by the townfolk, a delegation of Lexington citizens left for Washington to submit to Congress, on the anniversary day of the battle for freedom, a protest against "unreasonable interference by the Federal Government" in the affairs of "a free people." More than 1,200 citizens of the town met on the Battle Green on the evening before the anniversary, and signed their names



Battle Green at Lexington, Mass.

to a resolution of protest which was read before the tomb of the minutemen who were killed in the skirmish with the British redecoats on April 19, 1775, and adopted as a new declaration of freedom. It was presented by the Lexington delegation to Congress on April 19, 1934. The Honorable Mrs. Rogers, who represents the Lexington community in Congress, when she introduced the new Declaration of Rights in the House of Representatives, said:

"Mr. Speaker, one hundred fifty-nine years ago today, the shot was fired 'which was heard 'round the world,' at Lexington, Massachusetts,

which is a part of my district. Ten of its citizens died in their fight for liberty. Today a delegation of eight citizens of the same patriotic town have journeyed to Washington to fight again for liberty. They are sitting in the gallery. They bring a demand, signed by more than twelve hundred Lexington citizens, reviving a historical practice, because they believe that when a free people choose duly elected representatives, they invest them with responsibility for preserving their constitutional rights to own property and to exercise freedom of individual enterprise."

Mrs. Rogers then read their resolution to the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, as follows:

"When a free people choose duly elected representatives, they invest them with the responsibility for preserving their constitutional rights to own property and to exercise freedom of individual enterprise.

"When a free people feel that their rights are being trespassed upon, and that the guidance of government is being unduly influenced by advisers not chosen by the people, it is a duty as well as a right of the people to express determined disapproval.

"Such disapproval must be voiced decisively when legislation is enacted giving into Federal control the right to regulate individual and national activity for ends which the people feel are open to grave question.

"Now, therefore, we, citizens of Lexington, Massachusetts, on this 19th day of April, the anniversary of the first battle for American liberty, reviving a historical practice, submit to the Congress of the United States through the Senators and Representatives from this Commonwealth, the following protest:

"We protest against Federal interference in business under the guise of promoting social reform and economic recovery.

"We protest against the indefinite extension of legislation originally designed solely for emergency purposes.

"We protest against

*The Battle of
Lexington, Which
Opened the Struggle
for Freedom
in America.*



the passage of legislation without more careful consideration by Congress.

"We protest against the increase of bureaus, boards, and commissions, and the delegation of arbitrary powers to such governmental agencies.

"We protest extravagant and wasteful expenditure of public funds on unneeded and unproductive projects, thereby creating a constantly mounting national debt.

"We are resolved that the individual's rights of private enterprise and its rewards must continue, free from unreasonable interference by the Federal Government, and we demand their preservation at your hands."

After reading this resolution, Mrs. Rogers continued as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, I earnestly commended their resolution to the House. It is high time that the nation protested against the taking away of the people's rights, no matter how covertly done. This petition must be heard, must be considered, must be acted upon. It is patriotic. It is not partisan. I cannot believe, Mr. Speaker, that we are going to throw away the freedom, the liberty, that started at the very beginning of this country, the thing that has made our nation the greatest nation in all the world. Every nationality that came to our shores came for freedom. I feel sure my colleagues on the left, who have always, since the Republic began, said they were for States' rights, for freedom, for liberty, will join with us in acting upon the recommendations of this delegation. We cannot let our country be ruined; we cannot let individual freedom be taken from us."

The above quotations are taken from the *Congressional Record* under date of April 19, 1934.

C. S. L.

LINCOLN STILL CALLS TO US

By

Chester H. Rowell

ONE hundred twenty-five years ago Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin in the wilderness. Little more than half a century later he uttered at Gettysburg the immortal words which rededicated this nation to a new birth of freedom, and committed it to the solemn resolution that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish from the earth.

In the interval, from the backwoods to the White House, had been a career such as could have happened only in America, and there only by one of those coincidences of opportunity and genius which are so rare in the history of mankind. For Lincoln's opportunity, America is the explanation. For the miracle of his genius, only the still unsolved processes of inheritance, plus the mysteries of Providence, are the answer.

That Lincoln, the man of the unlettered frontier, versed in few books, should have one of the supreme gifts of human utterance, . . . is a mystery. But an even greater miracle is his sanity. Men of alternate exaltations and depressions, with the genius of words and imagery, are not characteristically those who keep their heads when others lose them; who

see the storms of the moment in their relation to the eternal currents. Lincoln is the unique exception. Of all the men of his time, his are the only words and the only views that need no revision now. Rising to the full measure of the moment's emotion, he never lost the perspective of the ages.

Perhaps it was because, no matter how high he rose to see the vision of inspiration, his feet never lost the touch of the common clay which they so long had trod. All his life . . . [he] had lived in a world of reality. His own hands had felled the trees and split the rails and tilled the soil, in a world where man and nature were very near akin. He had lived among common men, and made it his trade to deal with their common problems. In his frequent silences he must have dwelt apart, as all men of genius do. But his daily life forced the realities on him. He walked indeed with God, but not upon the clouds.

The other balancing force may have

Lincoln was born in a little log cabin in the wilderness. This building is now sheltered by a marble Greek temple near Hodgenville, Kentucky.

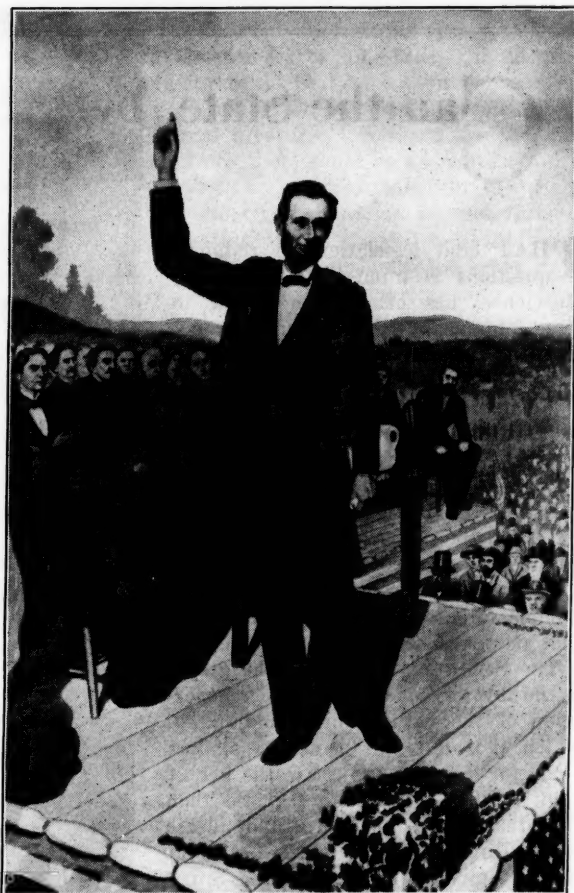


HORYDCZAK

been the very gift of literary expression. The artist and the poet in Lincoln found their outlet in words, which were the supreme embodiment of the soul of his time. Exaltation of mood is the very stuff of poetry. Thus merging form and spirit, they served also as the stimulus to great deeds, but never as the diversion of impulse into erratic action. We had, for just this once, the vision of the sage, and the prudence of the practical statesman; the common man of the woods and the prairie, and the aristocrat of the intellect and the spirit.

It is not enough, however, to commemorate Lincoln, the national hero and the historic character. If he rededicated this people at Gettysburg to its ancient mission of liberty, the call is no less clear to us now. The institutions of America were menaced with armed disruption then. They are menaced with disintegration now. Government of the people, by the people, for the people, has already perished from most of the earth, and is in a precarious situation in its few remaining seats. Many of its institutions have been suspended for the emergency even here. This generation will determine whether their operation is ever resumed.

Even in the ebb and flow of times, some principles are eternal. It was given to Lincoln to exemplify and enunciate these. It is laid on us to perpetuate them. Even if America should remain the sole peak of democracy, ris-



*Lincoln at Gettysburg
The memory of Lincoln should keep us from throwing away
our heritage of freedom.*

ing above the floods of Communist and Fascist dictatorships, it is still for us to hold that last refuge, as Noah did on Ararat. . . . After nearly seventy years, the voice of Lincoln still calls us to be true to that trust.

The danger is real. Representative institutions are crumbling around us. We have not yet repudiated the American Revolution, but France is in process of undoing the French one. Only in Britain, the British Dominions, and America does democracy formally persist, and much of its substance is gone

(Continued on page 84)

Can the State, by Using Force, Change the Religious Convictions of Its Citizens?

THAT civil legislation on religious questions is inimical to liberty of conscience, has often been shown in these columns, but that any interference whatever by the civil power is inimical to the work of the gospel itself may be just as clearly shown. The gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ is not merely a code of morals for the regulation of outward conduct, but is the mystery of God for the moral transformation of the human soul, through the divine power that resides in that gospel, and which accompanies it, when carried in humble reliance on that power and on that power alone.

The Scriptures teach that the gospel is the mystery of God for the regeneration of the natural, or carnal, mind, which, it is declared, "is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God. But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you." Rom. 8:7-9. This is a positive statement that all true moral reformation is the work of the Spirit of God; and this the Spirit accomplishes through the gospel, which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Rom. 1:16.

And not only has God ordained the means by which moral reformation shall be wrought in the human soul, namely, by faith in the gospel, but He has also ordained the means by which the gospel shall be brought to the notice of men, not by force, not by means of civil law, but by the "foolishness of preaching." 1 Cor. 1:21. And so the Saviour sent His disciples forth into a hostile world under the commission: "Go ye therefore,

•
**Will It Make True
Converts or Hypocrites?**
•

By C. P. Bollman



and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world." Matt. 28:19, 20.

The only guaranty of success given the apostles was the presence of their Lord by His Spirit; and by the power of this Spirit, through the word of God, they went forth "conquering and to conquer," making converts not only



without the aid of the civil power, but in the face of bitter opposition by the rulers of this world. Jesus Christ, who could have prayed the Father and He would have given Him more than twelve legions of angels, could have commissioned those heavenly messengers to overcome by their mighty power all the opposition of wicked men and demons to the truth, and could have compelled men to accept the gospel, but this was not the divine plan.

It was not without reason that God made man a free moral agent; and it

is likewise not without reason that the Creator leaves him free. In no other way could God have been the recipient of loving, willing service from intelligent creatures. Without the power of choice there could be no moral development, no approximation to the divine standard of character, no such thing as *putting on Christ*, and no possibility of being transformed into the same image from glory to glory.

What men need to understand is the true power of the will. It is a citadel that God Himself will not invade. He invites, He beseeches, but He does not coerce. He implants in the heart of every man the desire to be better than he is, and to do better than he does; but it is for the recipient of these favors to choose to accept them. When man desires them, God gives them, not before; for if so given, they would not be used. But when the soul yields to his Creator, the whole nature is brought under the control of the Divine Spirit, the affections are centered upon God, and the life is in harmony with His will. But such a change is never produced by force.

The gospel is the power of God to bring about this change; it is "the mystery, which from the beginning of the world hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ;" "even the mystery which hath been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to His saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles; which is Christ in you, the hope of glory;" "to the intent that now unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which He purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26, 27; Eph. 3:10, 11. And this purpose in Christ concerning those who give themselves to Him, is to present them "to Himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or

(Continued on page 84)

SHALL THE STATE AID Sectarian Institutions ?

DURING the special session of the Ohio State Legislature, called by Governor White to provide funds for the support of the public schools, the governor in his message to the legislature recommended that the State provide funds for the support of the parochial schools as well as for the public schools. The legislature was at once besieged by a religious lobby which sought to obtain an appropriation of \$2,000,000 of the public funds, and which was later increased to \$5,000,000, for the support of parochial schools. The citizens of Ohio rightfully took alarm at this ecclesiastical aggression, this attempted raid upon the State treasury. The church group that sponsored the parochial schools made five different attempts to secure public funds for sectarian uses, but each time they were rebuffed by the State legislature.

The church group now threatens all who voted against the proposal to grant an appropriation to the parochial schools with a religious boycott at the next elec-

By the Editor

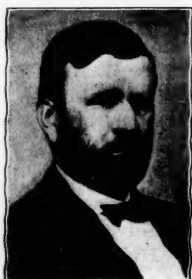
tion. Governor White is accused of bidding for the vote of the church group in his contemplated candidacy for a seat in the United States Senate, and have the public pay \$2,000,000 for his political campaign.

But we are not interested in the political aspects of this issue. There are fundamental principles involved in this church and state question that outweigh all political equations, and we shall address ourselves to the church and state issue and give our reasons why public funds should not be used to propagate religious teaching or support schools under the control and management of religious societies.

Public Funds for Public Schools Only

When the State inaugurated the system of general taxation for secular educational purposes only, it gave definite promise in the tax law itself to its citizens, of both religious and nonreligious belief, that the public funds should never under any circumstances be ap-

(Continued on page 85)



U. S. GRANT: "Leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep church and state forever separate."—Speech at Des Moines, Iowa, 1875.

? Will a Law-Enforced Religion Solve the World's Need

JUST what new reason for making Sunday laws may yet be urged we do not know. It would seem that every available pretext has been offered and refused by the people. But whatever new reasons may be offered, we may be certain that they will contain no more of the elements of honesty than those that have been offered in the past.

In the early days of this modern Sunday law movement, the theocracy of ancient Israel was cited as the example to be followed. But the people had no desire to go back to so stern a discipline. There was a growing inclination to throw off the stiff restraints of old-time religion. And truly religious people well knew, in the light of the new dispensation, that God was not pleased with a compelled religion, but desired freewill offerings or

the service of love alone. They recalled the scripture that says, "Without faith it is impossible to please God."

Then the would-be reformers brought to light the old Sunday laws that had crept in from the Old World in colonial times. They felt that they would not need to argue the case here, as it was a question of upholding the law, whose majesty must be respected. But these laws coming down from darkened times lost all consistency in the bright

light of a national Constitution which declared, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

It was obvious that some other reason than a religious one must be discovered or invented in order to get the consent of the people. From this time onward

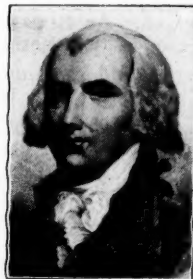
(Continued on page 88)

Reformers Are Seizing Every Occasion for the Exaltation of Sunday and the Enforcement of Religious Laws

Are They Destined to Succeed or Fail?

By W. S. Ritchie

JAMES MADISON: "Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from civil government and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both."—*Letter to Edward Everett, 1823.*



Teaching Religion by State Authority

IN bringing to a conclusion the quotations from the pen of Dr. Samuel T.

Spear, offered during recent issues of *LIBERTY*, we feel we would be doing less than our full duty if we failed to emphasize again their importance.

We believe in religious instruction. We believe in Bible reading. We subscribe to the high morality taught in the Scriptures. But we deny absolutely that it is the business of civil government to teach religion in any guise whatever. Religious men and nonreligious men must stand equal before the civil law, if justice and equity are to form the foundation of our Republic. The state can only ask that its citizens obey the civil statutes enacted for the common good. To use taxes collected from all to foster the particular religious beliefs of a part of the inhabitants, is unjust. The curriculum of the public school system must forever offer those subjects which can do no violence to the religious opinions of believer, nonbeliever, Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. The heart of real religion is set forth in the quotations which follow:

Religious Teaching by the State

"Religion, considered as a communicable system, consists in a body of beliefs or forms of thought whose objective center is God. As an experimental system it consists in the emotions and affections awakened and sustained by these ideas or beliefs. As a practical system it consists in the embodiment of both elements in outward action. Thoughts first, emotions and affections next, and outward action last—such is the order of nature in respect to religion. The power of the religious teacher lies mainly, if not exclusively, in the first of these categories. He cannot awaken emotion or affection,

By H. H. Votaw

or influence action, except by using the ideas which supply the occasion for both. The thoughts which he transfers constitute his means of religiously impressing others.

"Such a teacher must, of course, have something to teach—something which he knows or thinks he knows, at any rate, believes; and this something, be it more or less, true or false, is his creed in regard to God, and the duties which men owe to Him. Religious teaching, measurable by no standard, analyzable into no elements, and definable by no quantity or quality, is merely a name. Something must be taught, or there is no teaching. This something must be in the teacher's mind; and, in order not to be a deceiver, he must himself believe it. He ought to be, at least, a decent illustration of his own creed, since otherwise he will practically contradict it. Irreligious, immoral, and profane teachers handling the things of godliness present an incongruity which human nature declines to fellowship. Hypocrites succeed only by not being known.

"If, then, the state, in its corporate capacity and in addition to the other things which it must do, undertakes the work of religious teaching, whether in the public school or elsewhere, it must comply with the conditions of the process. One of these conditions is a creed of doctrinal beliefs adopted by the state as the basis and guide of the instruction to be given under its patronage and direction. A state without a creed, seeking to do the work which demands a creed, is an absurdity. What shall the creed be? The state is the only party that can authoritatively answer this question.

"It so happens that the term 'reli-

gion' is a word of many meanings as to the ideas indicated by it. The state must, hence, give a specific import to the term, and thus define its own religion; and, in order not to be a trifier, it must fix upon that religion which it holds to be true, and upon this bestow its sanction.

"If, for example, the theology of the Bible, taken as a whole, be that which the state adopts, then let its ideas be made a living and practical power in its educational system. Let the work be done effectually. And, to this end, let the legal agent of the state be commanded to teach the religion of the state as found in the Bible; to catechize the children in the name and by the authority of the state; and employ all the forces of the living voice and the active mind to impress its ideas upon their hearts. There surely can be no just objection to this course, provided the work belongs to the state. Never mind the disputes among religious sects, since the Bible, being adopted by the state, is the state book on the subject of religion, and to it on this subject the infallible rule of state faith and state

practice. The state, for its own purposes, has decided that this book contains the true religion, and also what version is the true translation of the original Scriptures.

"And now, having settled these points, it should not hesitate to wield the power of the book to the fullest extent. To limit the teacher to the mere reading of

the Bible, without comment and without any explanation, is to aim at the minimum rather than the maximum of power. No such practice is adopted in teaching arithmetic or grammar; and no such practice should be adopted in teaching religion, provided it be the purpose of the state to do the work in the best manner. If the work is to be done at all, let it be well done.

"And then again, the selection of proper teachers to do this work is quite as important as the creed to be taught. These teachers should be *orthodox* according to the standards of the state, not only well versed in the secular branches of knowledge, but competent teachers, and at least respectable examples of the religion of the state which they are ex-

pected to teach.

And to guard against any mistake on this point, they should be thoroughly examined by a board of state theologians, not only as to their general competency and character, but also as to their religious and doctrinal views, especially as to their understanding and acceptance of the religious creed of the state, and their aptness to explain and apply this creed;

and no one should be appointed to the service who upon such an examination is found deficient. . . .

"To treat the idea of religious teaching in its school system as one of great importance; to magnify it in sermons, essays, editorials, and speeches; then in practice to shrink from its vigorous ap-

(Continued on page 93)



H. A. ROBERTS

Free Education for Every Lad



Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore (1606-1675); by Gerard Soest

MARYLAND'S ACT OF

Does It Really Grant Religious Liberty?

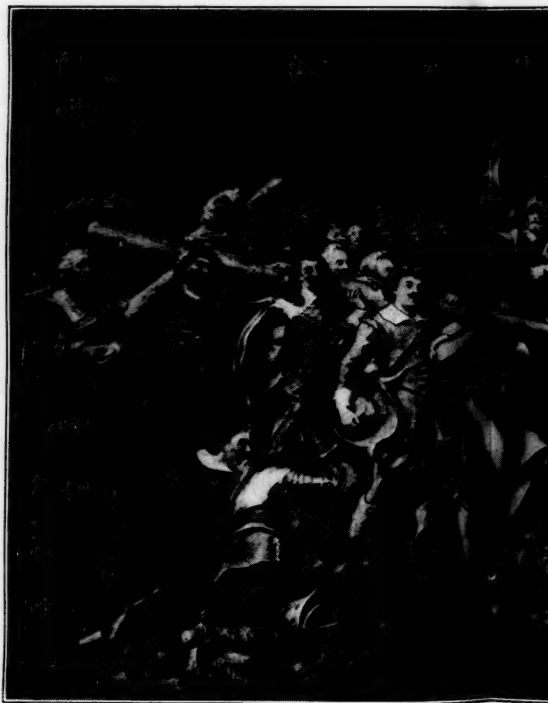
the rights of Englishmen coming to them under the Magna Charta. Emphasis is here laid that this so-called tolerance, in any of its meanings, cannot be proved to extend to any others than Trinitarian Christians, who must not be *molested*.

As a loyal Englishman, Cecil Calvert recognized his obedience to "Holy Church" by submitting the bloody "Act Concerning Religion of 1649" to the Provincial Assembly for enactment and by approving it in 1650. This fact was attested by the ac-



TOLERATION never has been in Maryland other than an amiable fiction. Despite repeated vainglorious assertion in tercentenary publications, even to this day, neither colony nor State has stood either for religious liberty, for freedom of conscience, untrammelled freedom of worship, separation of church from state; and least of all for equality of all before the law. Loyalty of colony to the mother country, with an established church (established here in fact in 1692), prevented this. It was emphasized in the Royal Charter granted by Charles I to Cecilius Calvert in 1632, which especially charged that "Holy Church" shall have all her rights preserved in the colony.

This distinguished itself mainly from the Roman Church in its so-called abhorrence of papal authority as superior to that of the crown. Although the Calverts were to provide a sanctuary to their Catholic brethren oppressed for religious devotion, only believers in the divinity of Christ and members of the Holy Family were to be, and were in fact, countenanced. As to them, by the terms of the Royal Charter in exact words, there was to be no *molestation* of any Englishman in respect of his religion or any one claiming



The Founding of Maryland—Erecting the Cross on the Hill

CT OF TOLERATION

gious Liberty?

By

Hon. B. H. Hartogensis

Member of the Baltimore Bar

tion of the Provincial Court of the Province (1658) upon the criminal information of the attorney-general, based on established evidence laid against the Rev. Francis Fitzherbert, S. J., for "mutiny" and "raising distraction and disturbance in the province," by threatening the important State Councilor Thomas Gerard "to force him, his wife and children, to come to his Catholic Church."

The reverend father "demurred," saying: "Since by the very first law of this



Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore (1630-1715); by Sir Godfrey Kneller

country, Holy Church within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights, liberties, and franchises wholly and without blemish, neither imports it what church is thereby meant, every church professing to believe in God—the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—is accounted 'Holy Church' here; and further that no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ shall be *molested* for or in respect of his religion," thus admitting the charge.

Despite the urgency of the attorney-general to punish this shameful act of oppression, the Provincial Court sustained the priest's legal demurrer, and dismissed the Reverend Father, as appears in its original form in Lib. S. 1658 to 1662 Judgments, P. 1082.

Cecilus Calvert feared greatly to alter the terms of his charter, much less to nullify them. He remained practically a hostage at the Court of St. James in order to prevent his enemies from wresting his valuable charter from him. This truly great Englishman was a model colonizer, but the Calverts saw to it that the colony yielded them great revenues in rents.

Although until recently lauded as the sheet anchor of religious liberty, even by the Democratic National Convention of



FRANK B. MAYER, ARTIST

ing the Cross on St. Clement's Island, March 25, 1634

1806, no longer does any historian claim this Bloody Act of Toleration of 1649 (reenacted in 1654), prescribing hanging for denying Christ, to be an Edict of Toleration. For under its terms, they made ready (1658) to hang the celebrated Jew doctor for refusing to admit such divinity; they drove Quakers from constable to constable, out of the province, persecuted dissenting Protestants, and indicted a nonbeliever, one Mitchell. Later, Puritans being in power, they disfranchised Roman Catholics, kept them from office, and made life miserable for them even to the extent, by the Act of Assembly 1715, of threatening to take children by force from the Catholic widow of a Protestant father.

The history of Maryland is unique in chronicling the only religious war for supremacy in the colonies in the bloody battle of the Severn (1655), in which the name of God was sacrilegiously used as a battle cry, and Catholics were slain for the greater glory of the Lord. Under its very terms they bored the tongue of an aged white Christian in the Baltimore County assizes (1748). Even the fifth clause of the Bloody Act remains in the Criminal Code of Maryland, article "Sabbath Breaking," because "uncivil recreation" thereon is also held to profane the Deity. Our Court of Appeals has repeatedly pronounced this a community dedicated to Christianity because "observance of the Lord's Day was established to commemorate the rise of our Saviour from the grave."

As to the claim of toleration prior to 1649 by "establishing a Commonwealth wherein all freemen, regardless of political or religious opinion, met on equal terms to draw up measures for the common good," actual happenings to disprove the presumption of equal rights only for Christians believing in the Holy Trinity, must appear if at all in the official colonial records for fifteen years from the settlement. Unfortunately, few volumes remain and these for about half this period.

The case rests almost entirely on the language used by the Lord Proprietor Cecil Calvert, addressed prior to their departure (1632) to his lieutenant governor, Leonard Calvert, and the commissioners, called "Instructions" to be observed both on sea and afterward on land, not to parade Catholique ceremonies and not have disputations (religious discussions) all as stated therein, in order to avoid faction and especially not to *molest* any one in his rights; this in the very words of the Royal Charter. The whole purpose as set forth in the "Instructions" was to prevent complaint either to the Royal Court or to Virginia, at both of which were enemies ready to wrest his valuable rights as proprietary from him.

In testimony of this religious freedom, prior to 1649 there is a memorandum (undated) of a proclamation of the governor not to *molest* and against faction as directed in the "Instructions," and evidently for the same purpose. Under its terms, there are reported two cases showing this extreme tolerance; one case reporting the fine imposed on the above mentioned Thomas Gerard for locking Protestants out of the only chapel (1642). The insincerity of this mild reproof appears in the immediate elevation of the offender for this grave offense to the very highest office as counselor to the Provincial Governor.

In the other case, that of William Lewis (1638), he harassed his Protestant servants as anti-Christ and prevented their religious readings. He had to be fined, without any question, in order that the Provincial Governor might save his face, as appears from the statement of the proceedings that these Protestant servants were about to complain of religious oppression to the governor of Virginia, which, as Lord Cecil Calvert feared, might result in Virginia's moving to take away his Royal Charter.

Many noted historians deny there was any conception of religious liberty in early Maryland, thus William E. Glad-

stone, Woodrow Wilson, Professors Petrie and Latane of the Johns Hopkins University.

Following are survivals at this very day of this mis-called toleration. Under a decision of the Court of Appeals (1799) *Runkel vs. Winemuller* in this Christian community "all Christians stand equally before the law." Here, as in the beginning, the oath of office is on the faith of a Christian; wherefore only fundamentalist Christians and orthodox Jews may by law take the oath required of them in order that they may hold office. Here a religious sanction to marriage is required. Here all witnesses and jurors are disqualified unless they believe not only in a Supreme Being, but in a God of vengeance. Even if this be not molestation, it makes of all except Trinitarian Christians, *citizens* of the second class. Identification with the dominant church (religion) is thus the badge of good citizenship.

Another kind of *molestation* against the very terms of the Royal Charter comes to all strict observers of the seventh-day Sabbath of the Bible. For here such Trinitarian Christians as Seventh-day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists alike suffer reprisal (jail sentences) for observing the tenets of their religion, requiring labor on every day except their holy Sabbath. In their single-handed battle for equal rights before the law, these creedists demand the actual separation of church and state in "free" Maryland.

Is Our Constitution Broad Enough to Deal With All National Emergencies?

(Continued from page 69)

"But the disturbing fact is that in the face of this almost universal assault upon personal liberty, upon free government, democracy seems timid, apologetic, distrustful of its own powerful weapons of defense and its still more powerful weapons of advancement. An

emergency seems to arise, and we immediately give evidence of a want of faith in our own institutions and in the instrumentalities provided by the Constitution. We seem to doubt the methods and means provided by the founders of democracy.

"We have an emergency, and we immediately appeal to measures which cast a doubt upon our faith in our own institutions. We have an emergency, and we employ instrumentalities to discredit our faith in democratic institutions.

"We need something of the ancient faith, something of the ancient vision. You will remember, Mr. President, in the history of the American Revolution, when the British forces were in possession of the Old Dominion, when the traitor Benedict Arnold was leading his marauding forces up and down the coast, when Tarleton was burning the homes and villages, that Mr. Nicholas, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, seconded by Patrick Henry, moved that a dictator be appointed for the Commonwealth. Thomas Jefferson was then governor of Virginia. He had just narrowly escaped capture at the hands of the British forces. When this resolution came to his attention, he said:

"The very thought alone was treason against mankind in general, as riveting forever the chains which bow down their necks by giving their oppressors proof—"

"Do not forget that—"

"by giving their oppressors proof, which they would have trumpeted throughout the universe, of the imbecility of republican government in times of pressing danger to shield us from harm."

"What vision! What trust! What confidence!

"Of these things this Republic was built, and of these things alone it will be maintained.

"We have had emergencies in the past. We have had more than one hour of peril. The Constitution has been sufficient and efficient in all instances. And now, of all times, we should show our faith in, and our devotion to, our

form of government. Now, more than at any other time in our history, we should by word and act demonstrate the faith which made this Republic, and which will preserve it.

"In the midst of world turmoil Washington pinned his faith to constitutional democracy. That steadfast soul never wavered, never doubted. In the midst of the fiercest hour of civil war Lincoln declared that the government of the people, for the people, and by the people should not perish from the earth. There is a niche alongside of these two immortal defenders of free government for the brave American who in his place of power accepts the challenge of these apostles of terror and fanaticism, of these enemies, avowed enemies of free government and of personal liberty, and against all comers declares his faith in the efficiency and the worth of republican institutions and his determination to maintain and preserve them in all their integrity at any cost and at all hazards."—*Congressional Record*, May 17, 1934.

We commend the above speech to the consideration of every American citizen, irrespective of what his party affiliation may be. When civil liberty under our Constitution is denied its citizens, religious liberty is likewise jeopardized.

The following statement in the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in upholding our Federal Constitution and its guaranties of civil and religious rights vouchsafed to each individual, "equally in war and in peace," cannot be too often repeated in these times of stress: "The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances."

A FOOL is one who has winnowed the chaff from the wheat, and deliberately chooses the chaff instead of the wheat as his portion.

Lincoln Still Calls to Us

(Continued from page 73)

there. The exact mechanism of democracy handed down from our fathers no longer serves its purpose, even here. Other nations, when the mechanism failed, have given up the democracy also. So shall we, unless we meet the test better than they.

Lincoln set the example of clinging to the eternal truths. . . . Washington and his contemporaries had set it in their time. If we, unworthy to be their successors, freeze into mere conservatism what in their time was radical innovation; if we parrot their phrases, but lose their spirit and lack their courage, we shall forfeit their inheritance. We shall throw away our birthright for even less than a mess of pottage, from sheer lack of the character to hold it. The memory of Lincoln should shame us out of that possibility.—*San Francisco Chronicle*, Feb. 12, 1934.



Can the State, by Using Force, Change the Religious Convictions of Its Citizens?

(Continued from page 75)

any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." Eph. 5:27. But it is only the willing and obedient who shall eat the good of the land.

God is the only source of moral power. To use a homely but forcible expression, as well might a man attempt to lift himself by the straps of his boots as to elevate himself morally without the divine power that comes alone from God. And what one man cannot do for himself, in this respect, no number of men can do for him. God alone knows the heart, and He alone can change the character.

Civilization is not morality. The most cultured are sometimes the most corrupt. Social customs and civil laws may, in fact do, restrain, but they do not transform. God alone has power

to create a new heart and to renew a right spirit. But the natural man cannot receive this. His trust is in the arm of flesh; and even when he fails he does not turn to the true source of strength, but tries, by allying himself with a multitude of his fellows, each as weak as himself, to do, not only for himself, but for the whole mass of humanity, what not a single individual can do for himself.

And not only is this hope vain, but it causes men to lose sight of the only true source of moral power, the Lord Jesus Christ. It is for this reason that when men attempt to aid the gospel in any way except by teaching it in the power and demonstration of the Spirit of God, they only hinder it, and blind men's minds to the great truth given as a parting injunction to the disciples of our Lord: "Without Me ye can do nothing." Governmental religion is always and everywhere a negation of this truth, and is therefore anti-Christian.



Shall the State Aid Sectarian Institutions?

(Continued from page 76)

propriated for any other purposes than the teaching of the public school curriculum, which was to be purely and exclusively secular, so that all citizens, irrespective of their religious or non-religious beliefs, might enjoy the same educational advantages offered by the State. The infidel and the many divergent religionists were thus assured of equal privileges under the law.

If the religious elements are to be allowed the privilege of dipping their hands into the public coffer and obtaining financial support for the purpose of teaching religious tenets to their children, then the State must allow infidels and atheists to dip into the public funds for money to teach their children the dogmas of infidelity and atheism.

Ohio Supreme Court Decision Adverse

The supreme court of the State of Ohio has declared that the appropriation of public funds for the teaching of religion is unwarranted and unconstitutional. This tribunal in 1872, in expressing its opinion on the question of teaching religion at State expense and at the behest of religious societies, said:

"True Christianity asks no aid . . . of civil authority. . . . To depend on civil authority . . . is to acknowledge its own weakness, which it can never afford to do. It is able to fight its own battles. Its weapons are moral and spiritual, and not carnal. Armed with these, and these alone, it is not afraid nor 'ashamed' to be compared with other religions, and to withstand them single-handed. And the very reason why it is not so afraid or 'ashamed' is that it is not the 'power of man' but 'the power of God,' on which it depends. . . .

"A form of religion that cannot live under equal impartial laws ought to die, and sooner or later must die.

"Legal Christianity is a solecism, a contradiction of terms. When Christianity asks the aid of government beyond mere impartial protection, it denies itself. Its laws are divine, and not human. Its essential interests lie beyond the reach and range of human governments. United with government, religion never rises above the merest superstition; united with religion, government never rises above the merest despotism; and all history shows us that the more widely and completely they are separated, the better it is for both."
—23 Ohio St. 211; 13 Am. R. 223.

Continuing, the court said:

"If we have no right to tax him [the non-religious citizen] to support 'worship,' we have no right to tax him to support religious instructions; that to tax a man to put down his own religion is of the very essence of tyranny; that however small the tax, it is a first step in the direction of an 'establishment of religion;' and I should add, that the first step in that direction is the fatal step, because it logically involves the last step."—*Ibid.*

President Grant Gave Good Counsel

President U. S. Grant clearly stated the duty of the state in the education of its children when he said:

"Encourage free schools, resolve that not one dollar appropriated to them shall go to the support of any sectarian school; resolve that neither state nor nation shall support any institution save those where every child may get a common school education, unmixed with

any atheistic, pagan, or sectarian teaching; leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep church and state forever separate."—*Address at Des Moines, Iowa, 1875.*

A Dangerous Venture

A church that calls upon the state for financial and legal aid to support its religious institutions, is dealing with elements as dangerous as the powerful explosives of a powder magazine. The church that receives state aid and support may think she is being saved from financial shipwreck, but she is clinging to a millstone and not a life preserver. It can only result as it always has resulted in the past—in ultimate disaster and humiliation.

Church Must Support Its Own

The state has provided a system of practical education that meets the need of the state, but not the needs of the church, which wants its children educated in sectarian dogmas which will bind them to it. If a church is dissatisfied with the secular curriculum of the state, and wants to provide a system of education of its own to indoctrinate its children in religious tenets, it has that privilege; but when it meets financial difficulties, it should not call upon the state for aid, but upon its own members for greater sacrifices; and if the church members are not willing to make the necessary sacrifices to support the church schools, then they ought to send their children to the public schools.

Any one who is familiar with the history of church and state in the past knows that every approach to church and state union had very innocent beginnings. The first legal precedents which led to state alliances with the church were so mild and apparently harmless that no one ever dreamed that they would actually pave the road to the infernal Inquisition centuries later.

As soon as religion asks aid of the civil government, the door has been opened for the church to enter into the political arena. Whenever the church

attempts to obtain a grip upon the arm of the legislature and to thrust its hand into the state treasury, it is time for the people to take alarm, and thwart the first attempt of this unholy alliance. State aid and legal sanction for the propagation of religion has been productive of more religious strifes, quarrels, hatreds, malignant bickerings, persecution, and bloody wars than any causes of merely civil strife. The introduction of religion into politics has led to the overthrow of more than one government.

Stability of Public Schools Threatened

If the state wants to destroy its common schools, it can do it most effectually by appropriating its public funds to the support of parochial schools. The church asks only for a finger in the pie now, but tomorrow it will use the whole hand to grab the whole pie.

Those who framed our State constitutions in the beginning, had just emerged from the troubles of a church and state union, and they set up barriers in those constitutions to prevent such catastrophes in the future in America.

For brevity's sake, let us take only the constitutions of the States which surround Ohio.

Kentucky.—"No portion of any fund or tax now existing, or that may hereafter be raised or levied for educational purposes, shall be appropriated to, or used by, or in aid of, any church, sectarian, or denominational school."—*Kentucky Constitution, Preamble, Sec. 189.*

Indiana.—"The principal of the common school fund shall remain a perpetual fund, which may be increased, but shall never be diminished; and the income thereof shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools, and to no other purpose whatever."—*Indiana Constitution, Art. VIII, Sec. 3.*

Michigan.—"No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary, nor shall property belonging to the state be appropriated for any such purposes."—*Michigan Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 40.*

Pennsylvania.—"No money raised for the support of the public schools of the commonwealth shall be appropriated to, or used for,

the support of any sectarian school."—*Pennsylvania Constitution, Art. X, Sec. 2.*

The State of New York has a provision in its Constitution that is typical of most State constitutions, which reads as follows:

"Neither the State nor any subdivision thereof, shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination and inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught."—*Art. IX, Sec. 4.*

Ohio.—"The General Assembly shall make such provisions, by taxation or otherwise, as, with the interest arising from the school trust fund, will secure a thorough and efficient system of common schools throughout the State; but no religious or other sect or sects shall ever have any exclusive right to or control of any part of the school funds of this State."—*Ohio Constitution, Art. VI, Sec. 2.*

The supreme court of Ohio has interpreted this provision of the constitution of Ohio as meaning a denial of any portion of the public funds for sectarian purposes, and that public funds should be used exclusively for the public schools of the State.

Contrary to American Ideals

The history of church and state alliances in the past taught the founders of our Republic the unerring principle here contended for. After centuries of struggle, marked by persecution and bloodshed, they established in our fundamental law the principle of separation of church and state, and they intended that these constitutional inhibitions and guaranties should prevent a repetition of such catastrophes in the future. It is the duty of every American to see that these guaranties of the equality of all citizens before the law are safeguarded, and we deem it a privilege to raise our voice in protest against the slightest encroachment and innovation upon our present heritage of religious freedom.

The proposed step in appropriating public funds for the support of secta-

rian schools is the beginning of a church and state alliance that has couched in its very inception the potentialities of a veritable inferno.

The State supreme court decisions have invariably held that private and parochial schools conducted and managed by religious societies for sectarian purposes could not benefit from the public and general tax funds of the State or any political subdivision thereof. The attempts on the part of religious organizations to receive aid from the public tax funds have been made from many different angles, and most frequently, as in the present case, through disguised measures and subterfuges which camouflaged the issue. To say that all "free tuition schools" shall receive benefits from the public funds, is dressing up the wolf in sheep's clothing. It is an attempt to sugar coat a bitter pill. It is an endeavor to accomplish by indirect methods what cannot be done directly and openly. This is the most vicious kind of legislation, as it is calculated to deceive the public and obtain for the parochial schools an appropriation under cover which could not be done specifically for them.

But the State supreme courts have not been deceived in the past by such subterfuges. These tribunals have jealously guarded the public funds from being expended for any purpose but strictly educational functions in state-controlled schools.

Religious Bickerings

If religious liberty is to be maintained in America, and the common schools are to serve as a bulwark of the state, the church and the state must each attend to its own business and operate separately and independently in its own respective and distinctive field. There can be no commingling of interests without the clashing of spiritual and secular swords in deadly conflict.

If the State of Ohio should decide to appropriate large sums of money for the support of "free tuition schools" under

the control and management of religious societies, who would settle the religious controversies and ecclesiastical bickerings which would develop over the division of the funds in this raid upon the State treasury? Would the tribunal set up to settle these religious bickerings between the various religious organizations be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or nonsectarian? Would Catholics or Protestants predominate in this tribunal? Who would decide what "free tuition schools" are among the various religious organizations? Would a contribution or appropriation from church members or a church budget for a partial support of church schools vitiate the status of a "free tuition school" as provided in the proposed legislation? If not, why should an insufficient tuition charge nullify a claim upon the State treasury, and destroy its status as a "free tuition school"?

If the State legislature of Ohio decides to appropriate of its public funds for the support of "free tuition schools," which in reality are church schools, where religion is taught and partial support given by church organizations, it is venturing upon dangerous ground, and will open a Pandora's box of human ills.



Will a Religion Enforced by Law Solve the World's Need?

(Continued from page 77)

various pretexts of secular or economic nature began to be offered as reasons for Sunday laws. It was argued that the energies of the physical man ran down steadily each day until Sunday, when through its rest there was a lifting to the normal plane again, as at the beginning of the week. A diagram was displayed showing a drop each day which the following night's rest failed to restore fully until Sunday, when the line went to the high point again.

Here was a question of public health that could, in part at least, be urged

from a civil standpoint and freed from the criticism of being a union of church and state. But there were weak places in this scheme. If the law was to be invoked to compel a weekly rest for the public good, how much more should it step in to regulate the daily rest, the hour of going to bed, and the time spent there. And who was to tell who were the strongest or the weakest, and prescribe the amount of rest needed? Were all to be treated alike and rest alike? The people saw that it was religious propaganda under the guise of a civil measure, and the scheme and diagram fell into the discarded list.

When the government plan of the National Recovery Act was instituted, it seemed another opportunity to the Sunday reformers. There was in it a restriction governing the number of hours of work each week. But this was purely for a secular reason. There was no evident design of regulating any one's religion, and no particular days of the week were mentioned when work should not be done. But the National Reformers did their best at this juncture to get Sunday recognized, and did get it worked into some of the local temporary codes that were used before the national codes could be systematized and introduced. They even wove it into the Federal codes, but the Federal authorities eliminated the Sunday closing clauses wherever they discovered them. The authorities at Washington have shown that they are striving for recovery from financial depression, and not for making the country seemingly and deceptively religious by law.

Being baffled and defeated in their attempt to fasten Sunday observance legislation upon the Federal N. R. A. codes, they next turned their attention to the liquor control legislation, and made strenuous efforts to insert Sunday observance regulations into these laws. In many of the States they succeeded in legalizing the sale of intoxicating beverages on six days, but prohibiting it on Sundays. Thus the Sunday law

advocates give evidence that they are willing to sanction an evil, so long as it will serve as a vehicle to carry a Sunday observance law through to victory and place the public under the Sunday ban.

What, then, may be expected in the future? The swiftly changing kaleidoscope of modern human affairs will soon present new aspects of social problems. We may look for the ever-present urge of these reformers to seize every occasion for the exaltation of Sunday, and to render it so fortified by law that the people will be compelled to honor the first day of the week, and also its champions.

The world's troubles have reached a stage where every known remedy is being reexamined for relief. The nations have almost reached the breaking point under their burden of fear. Many of the leading minds have concluded that only in religion can these problems be solved. There are unmistakable signs that a mighty world-wide religious movement, with an enthusiasm never so extensively seen before, is even now breaking upon the world.

The prophecies of the Bible have definitely described this mighty effort to heal the world's troubles. It will include a plan of economic cooperation and peace among the nations. Its religious aspect will be centered around a Sunday law, which will be enforced with the most severe penalties.

But as a religion with such a spirit cannot be the true religion, and as the world's sickness cannot be cured with anything short of the spirit of good will or love, which is the right religion, it is also foretold that the whole mighty scheme of a legal religion will break down. It will be the last effort to institute the sham of a forced religion, for the Bible prophecy further states that at this juncture Christ, the Prince of Peace, will appear to take charge of a world whose strength and wisdom have utterly failed. The only question then will be, Who is ready to meet Him?

New Type of Sabbath Laws Proposed

MAYOR LA GUARDIA, of New York City, laid a new type of Sabbath legislation before Corporation Counsel Windels. The proposal submitted by the mayor to the corporation counsel would require a legislative amendment to the present Sunday laws by which each community would be given an opportunity to decide for itself through local option which day of the week should be set aside in law as a sacred day for that particular community. The proposal is to zone the city of Greater New York into sections in which the Sabbath and Sunday would be observed according to the rules of the predominant religious faith. A group of rabbis headed by Joseph Harowitz, president of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, made the proposal, and the mayor referred the whole matter to the corporation counsel for study and recommendation to the Municipal Assembly.

In sections of the city where the Jewish faith predominates, the Sabbath would be observed, so far as business and labor are concerned, according to the religious standards set up by the rabbis; and in sections of the city where the faith of Sunday-observing Christians predominates, Sunday would be observed by law according to the religious standards and opinions established by the Christian ministers.

This is a novel idea, yet it is not a new thing under the sun. In the city of Jerusalem, Palestine, where the Jewish faith predominates, several years ago laws were enacted compelling everybody in Jerusalem to observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath. When this Sabbath law was passed by the Jews, it was vigorously opposed by the Sunday-observing Christians in Jerusalem, but being in a hopeless minority, they were forced to comply with a religious requirement contrary to their faith.

The Jews answered the Christians by saying: "In America you Christians make Sunday observance laws contrary to our religious faith, and persecute us under them." It was an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, according to an ancient Jewish law. But such inhuman exactions were abrogated by Christ in His teachings. Modern Christianity and Judaism are still harking back to the ancient traditions when it comes to the enactment and enforcement of Sunday laws as well as Sabbath laws. Self-centered pharisaism is a difficult matter to eliminate from both the Christian and the Jewish religion.

What provision does the mayor of New York City recommend in this matter for those who make no profession of religion? There are more people in Greater New York who are nonchurch members than there are church members. Should not this large group of citizens have some consideration in this matter? In fact, if this unorganized group of citizens should decide to organize, they could easily put a taboo on all religious legislation. Why should an organized religious group that is in the minority be allowed to impose its religious customs and observances upon an unorganized nonreligious group that is in the majority? Why should a civil magistrate favor one religious group above another, or extend special privileges under the law to those who make a profession of religion in contradistinction to those who make no profession of religion?

The state, and that means those who represent the state in an official capacity, should always treat all its citizens alike, whether they make any profession of religion or not. The civil government should always assume an attitude of strict neutrality upon all religious questions. No religious group has any right in justice to impose by law its religious beliefs and practices upon any other group or upon a single individual. Religion and all religious obligations rest upon voluntary acceptance

and practice. The conscience is supreme in the realm of religion, so long as it does not interfere with the equal rights of all men. God does not want His teachings enforced by civil law, for that would be an utter perversion of the divine plan to save men by grace through faith. "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin," said the apostle Paul.

In America, where we are supposed to have separation of church and state, and where each individual under our matchless Constitution is supposed to enjoy the free exercise of his conscience in religious matters, it is highly incongruous for any State to enact religious laws of any kind. The Jew should not be compelled to observe Sunday under civil penalties, nor should the Christian be required under civil penalties to observe the Bible Sabbath, the seventh day of the week. No civil Sunday law or Sabbath law can exist where the golden rule is accepted as the rule of conduct between fellow men.

C. S. L.



An Unchristian Attitude

THE *Sunday School Times* of February 10, 1934, gives whole-hearted and unreserved indorsement to a book written by R. H. Martin entitled, "The Day." This book advocates compulsory Sunday observance laws of the most drastic kind.

For many years we have read the *Sunday School Times*, and we have always regarded it as a nonsectarian and very tolerant periodical toward all Christian sects, no matter what divergent views they held upon religious subjects. We remember when the *Sunday School Times* advocated voluntary instead of compulsory observance of Sunday, and spoke most respectfully of those who observed another day than Sunday as sacred time. But in reviewing this book, it has indorsed the extreme positions taken by Mr. Martin, as well as his vicious attacks upon

Christian sects that are opposed to Sunday observance under the penal codes.

Dr. Martin claims that "the state is not secular." He holds that the state is both a secular and a religious institution, and therefore is justified in the enactment of religious laws. The *Sunday School Times* approves this position, and adds in its comments: "State laws, therefore, which uphold the dignity of this institution [Sunday] are necessary for its protection. The foes of the Christian Sunday are a menace to our national well-being."

We are not surprised at Mr. Martin's taking this position in his book in defense of compulsory Sunday observance under state laws, but we were stunned when we saw our esteemed nonsectarian periodical, the *Sunday School Times*, breathe the same intolerant spirit against those Christian sects which are opposed to a legal religion.

Unsupported Assertions

The *Sunday School Times* further says that "the New Testament presents our Lord and His disciples as changing the day of observance from the seventh to the first day of the week." In proof of this it does not quote a single New Testament text, but makes the bold assertion unsupported by Scripture.

Mr. Martin makes a similar declaration, and quotes in its support, not the Bible, but some epistles purporting to have been written by the early church Fathers. The fact is, they were written centuries later, and assigned to the early church Fathers to give them plausibility. The highest ecclesiastical writers and authorities admit that these epistles were pseudo manuscripts which the early church Fathers knew nothing about, but which had their names forged to them.

The term "Lord's day" was never applied to the first day of the week until the fourth century after Christ. The early Christians observed the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath for centuries after Christ's resurrection,

and Christ and His apostles never once placed their sanction, by either precept or example, upon the observance of the first day of the week as a sacred day in honor of the resurrection. The silence of the New Testament upon this subject should be a sufficient refutation of any claim that they ever observed the first instead of the seventh day of the week as the Christian Sabbath.

The New Testament makes it very clear that Christ and His disciples observed the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, and not on Sunday. Christ's disciples observed the Sabbath after His death. They "rested the Sabbath day according to the commandment." Luke 23:56. Nowhere in the New Testament is the least hint given that the apostles or early Christians ever taught that the first day of the week was a holy day.

What Eminent Authorities Say

Sir William Domville, a noted English historian, says:

"Centuries of the Christian era passed away before Sunday was observed by the Christian church as a Sabbath. History does not furnish us with a single proof or indication that it was at any time so observed previous to the sabbatical edict of Constantine in 321 A. D."—*Examination of Six Texts*, p. 291.

Dr. Augustus Neander, the leading church historian of modern times, says:

"The festival of Sunday, like all other festivals, was always only a human ordinance, and it was far from the intentions of the apostles to establish a divine command in this respect, far from them, and from the early apostolic church, to transfer the laws of the Sabbath to Sunday."—*Rose's Translation of Neander's Church History*, p. 186.

Not Christian, but Pagan

Many innovations and new customs were adopted when the Christian church compromised with the pagan world, after Constantine the Great patronized and supported the church. He was the author of the first Sunday law recorded in history. He was still a pagan, and made his Sunday law in honor of the sun god for sun worshipers. Subsequent Sunday laws were based upon

the Sunday law of 321 A. D., enacted by the Roman emperor.

The Christian churches which observe Sunday are following Constantine, and not Christ. The Lord of heaven never commanded any person to observe the first day of the week in lieu of the seventh day as the Sabbath. To compel people to observe Sunday under the penal codes is not only unchristian, but un-American. It partakes of the spirit of bigotry and intolerance, and always results in religious persecution of dissenters and nonconformists. It is obnoxious sectarian legislation, which would be highly resented by all Sunday observers if some other day of the week should be selected contrary to their religious faith.

C. S. L.

Too Much Leniency Shown Drinking Drivers

MOST of our traffic laws merely prohibit driving "while intoxicated." This legal provision is much too loose, and often results in freeing a driver who has a serious accident, because it is impossible to obtain a conviction for "intoxication," even though all the facts prove that he was under the influence of drink.

If a man is able to walk on the sidewalk or public highway without staggering, he is not considered legally "intoxicated." A man who has had a half-dozen drinks may be able to accomplish this feat on the sidewalk, yet while in this condition he may be a very dangerous man behind the wheel of an automobile driving at high speed and facing an emergency. A drinking man does not need to stagger in his walk in order to be a menace at the wheel of an automobile in a crisis.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that a small amount of alcohol in a beverage has a very decided effect upon brain activity in slowing up the mental processes. Any driver's reaction time under a small dose of alcohol is slack-

ened to a point where an accident in a crisis is very likely to occur as a result of his failure to apply the brakes in time to avoid it.

It is a well-known scientific fact that the effect of even a small amount of alcohol is to make a man drowsy. It robs him of his mental alertness. Since the drinking habit among automobile drivers has become more prevalent, accidents due to drivers' dozing at the wheel have greatly increased. But a large per cent of the automobile accidents are classed as reckless driving, and are never associated with drink, when, as a matter of fact, the reckless driving was done by a driver who had a few drinks, but not enough to class him as a drunken or intoxicated driver.

When all the factors are carefully taken into account, it becomes more and more evident that our legislators ought to protect the public by putting more teeth into the drivers' license laws, and not permit a driver to have a license if it is known that he is in the habit of driving an automobile after he has imbibed alcoholic beverages, and if the evidence is conclusive that he was responsible for an accident while unduly under the influence of drink, his driver's license should not be renewed until he has given evidence of permanent sobriety.

The tremendous increase of fatal automobile accidents during the past four months due to drink, is sufficient justification for such drastic action against drinking drivers. One second of time does not mean much ordinarily, but when a driver under the influence of alcohol travels sixty miles an hour, he advances eighty-eight feet in one second; and when the mental processes are slowed up by the use of alcohol, one second in an emergency may mean a fearful accident when a normally acting brain might have avoided it.

It is the duty of the government to deny intoxicants to the thirty-two million automobile drivers the same as is done to railroad engineers. A gasoline

engine under high speed is just as dangerous as a steam engine. The government does not deprive a person of his inherent rights when it restricts him from drinking intoxicating beverages under conditions where he endangers the lives of others. The government has a right to protect society against drunkenness, and from being injured by drinking engineers and automobile drivers. Every man's liberty ends where another man's injury begins. No man has a right to inflict an injury upon another person.

C. S. L.

Teaching Religion by State Authority

(Continued from page 79)

plication, and shear it down to the smallest significance for the sake of dodging the jealousies of religious sects; thus to make but little of the idea except in public discussions about it,—this is not at all our notion of teaching religion by state authority. If we are to have the thing, then let us *have* it, with the right sort of doctrines, with the right sort of teachers, with no heretics among them, and in a manner and to a degree worthy of the state and worthy of the thing itself. Let the state put honor upon the office whose duties it assumes and professes to perform. Ecclesiastical bodies, from the local church up to the highest judicatory, are wont to be careful and circumspect as to doctrines and teachers; and for this they are to be commended. Should not the state, having a theological doctrine for its educational system, be equally careful and circumspect? Indifferentism poorly becomes a state that has a theological creed to administer and propagate; and as a matter of history, it has seldom been chargeable with this kind of delinquency.

"These statements, the reader may be assured, are not made for mere sarcasm. We write precisely as we think. Concede the principle that religion, either

as an end or a means, falls properly within the administrative agency of the state, and the inference is irresistible that the state must have a religion to administer; that it must determine what that religion shall be; and that it must and should appoint suitable persons to do the executive part of the work. We have no difficulty with the natural and necessary modes of making the principle effective—none whatever—since they result from it by inevitable sequence. . . .

"Our great difficulty with the doctrine of those who demand that the state shall become a religious propagandist in its school system, is with the *principle* that lies at its bottom, and not at all with the details of its execution, however stringent or seemingly severe, provided they are necessary to the end. Their doctrine logically commits them to the principle of state jurisdiction and state duties in respect to things spiritual; and if they refuse to accept the consequences, no matter whether they are Protestants or Catholics, then they are afraid of their own creed. If, on the other hand, they carry out the principle and make it a living and operative power, and not a mere sham for the sake of appearances, then, alas! for the real rights of conscience and the liberties of men, they land us, body and soul, into the system of *state religion*, namely, religion defined by the state, taught by the state, supported as a charge upon its treasury, and if necessary, penally enforced by the state."

There can be no just reason for the state's attempting to foster religion through the tax-supported public school system. To do so is to involve the civil government in religious matters. All the history of the past should teach us that our only safety lies in avoiding the beginnings of such a union. By all means let true religion, godliness, and righteousness be taught to our youth, by both precept and example, but let it be done by the proper agencies,—the home the church, and the parochial school, conducted by the church.

Inconsistency of Sunday Blue Laws

THE police officials of Baltimore, Maryland, are showing up the inconsistency of the Sunday blue laws. Two years ago the city of Baltimore was given the privilege, by an act of the legislature, to vote on the repeal of certain sections of the Sunday blue laws of the State of Maryland which prohibited shows, entertainments, theatrical performances, and professional baseball and amusements on Sunday. The citizens of Baltimore voted in favor of the repeal of these sections of the Sunday law by a majority vote of about 85,000. Ever since, the city of Baltimore has been a wide open town so far as recreation and amusements are concerned on Sunday.

But the Sunday blue law of the State of Maryland is still in force so far as the other drastic sections of the Sunday law are concerned. Under the present Sunday law no one is allowed to do any kind of labor or work on Sunday except works of necessity and charity. Mowing the lawn, raking the yard, hanging screens on windows, washing windows, putting up the screen door, or washing the automobile are forbidden, and violators are subject to a penalty if done on Sunday. Nor can a merchant, a grocer, or a druggist sell any of the ordinary necessities of life on Sunday unless it is a medicine prescribed by a physician.

The amusement promoters can sell tickets to theaters or to a baseball game, but the druggist cannot sell a thermos bottle, a pencil sharpener, an electric toaster, or an alarm clock on Sunday. Just recently four of the leading druggists in Baltimore were tricked into selling the above-mentioned four articles by plain-clothes men, who afterward identified themselves as police officers, and had these druggists arrested for selling these articles on Sunday contrary to the provisions of the blue law.

Such inconsistencies in the Sunday blue laws show up their utter absurdity.

The only consistent course of the Maryland Legislature, or any other legislature, is to give the people an opportunity to vote upon the repeal of every section of the Sunday blue laws. Every provision in these Sunday laws which prohibits acts that are perfectly legitimate and honorable on the other six days of the week, give unmistakable evidence that these prohibitions are purely religious in their very nature. Religion alone forbids to be done on one day what is decent and civil on other days. But religious obligations should never be enforced by civil law.

Religious observances have no value in the sight of God unless they are voluntary. A religion that has to look to the state for legal support is a bad religion, and does not deserve to be preserved by law. A genuine religion needs no aid or legal support from the state. It is able to survive in the face of all opposition.

C. S. L.

“Observe Sunday” Cancellation Stamps

THE Lord's Day Alliance of Canada has succeeded for some time in employing the post office department of the Canadian government as its tool to carry on its religious propaganda by inducing that department to place the following cancellation stamp upon all first-class envelopes bearing Canadian stamps in transit; viz., “Observe Sunday.” There has been considerable opposition to this, and many protests have been sent to the post office department against this breach of propriety.

The Religious Liberty Association of the Dominion of Canada, through its secretary, M. N. Campbell, on May 28, 1934, sent the following letter to the postmaster-general at Ottawa, Canada:

“For some time I have been receiving letters requesting me to voice the sentiments of the writers against the practice of some Canadian post offices using the words, ‘Observe Sunday’ on their

cancellation stamps. These protests come from religious people who object to the government's entering the realm of religion.

"The observance of a day is purely a religious question—one which a man must determine as between himself and his Maker, without interference or pressure of any sort from Cæsar. Our divine Master laid down the principle of rendering unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. If a government may issue such counsel as 'Observe Sunday' on its post office cancellation stamps, it may with equal consistency give advice like 'Attend Mass,' 'Be Baptized,' 'Go to Confession.' These are all religious duties to be rendered to God as one's conscience may dictate. They are entirely out of the sphere of the civil government.

"When a government begins to agitate religious questions, there is no limit to which it may not go. It is a legal axiom that 'the sphere which a government invades, it dominates.' No right-minded Canadian wants the government dominating religion. Hence he objects to the first tendency in that direction. There are certain associations and alliances that are organized to promote the entanglement of government in religious issues. They feel it would be well if the civil authorities lent their aid to making men religious, and they are exerting all their influence in that direction. That idea has been the basis of all bloody persecutions of the past; hence, taught by the fearful lessons of bygone ages, when civil power has undertaken to direct in matters of religion, we protest against this 'Observe Sunday' cancellation stamp on letters by a department of the government, as a violation of the British principle of civil and religious liberty, and urge that it be brought to a speedy end."

The above is a good statement and is right to the point. The civil government should not lend its good offices to carry on sectarian propaganda. It

should remain neutral on all religious questions, so all religious persuasions may stand on the same equality before the law.

The Lord's Day Alliance in the United States made a similar attempt to get the Postmaster-General of the United States under a former administration to put a similar cancellation stamp upon all first-class mail in the States, but the Post Office Department gave the Lord's Day Alliance a flat refusal, and informed them that such a thing could not be done in this country.



Sunday Law Agitation in Kansas

RECENTLY the Supreme Court of Kansas decided that it was lawful to deliver and sell newspapers on Sunday in Kansas. Because no legislature in that State has had the courage to repeal the Sunday law prohibiting the sale of newspapers on Sunday, the courts have to do what the State legislature ought to do.

Just now the question of the legality of Sunday theaters is being agitated in Kansas. Some of the clergy are anxious to keep the theaters closed on Sundays, for two reasons: first, because they are running in competition with the churches; and, second, because it is a nonreligious act to operate a theater on Sunday.

The Phillipsburg (Kansas) *News*, in an editorial comment on this situation, says:

"It is not important that Kansas theaters operate on Sunday. But it is important that Kansans who wish to attend Sunday shows are denied that privilege, while their neighbors, who prefer to witness baseball games, drive motor cars, play golf, patronize hot-dog and refreshment stands along the highways, have ice cream and cigarettes delivered at the house, may do as they please. It is important that work by performers and other employees in a theater is illegal, denying certain recreation to those who enjoy it, while performers may use the radio without violation of the statute enacted before Kansas had seen a telephone. It is important that a minority of Kansans may

say to another group of Kansans, 'You shall not amuse yourself as you wish, because we do not like that form of amusement on the first day of the week.'

"As has been pointed out repeatedly, the Sunday law is violated in every community of the State every Sunday. Some of its sections are observed in some communities. No serious effort has been made to enforce all of its provisions, and none ever will be made. The Sunday statute we have is as ridiculous as an eight-mile-an-hour speed limit."

No laws are as inconsistent as the Sunday laws in the various States. What one allows, another prohibits. All Sunday laws are based upon the religious convictions of a particular class of religious people in each community. If the State legislatures decided to act the part of absolute neutrality upon religious questions and obligations, they would be obliged to repeal all their Sunday observance laws. So far there have been only five States in the Union that have had the courage to repeal all their compulsory Sunday observance laws, and thus separate church and state and grant religious liberty to all citizens alike.

We trust the time will come when the legislators will no longer fear the intimidations of the militant clergymen. It is high time that America freed itself from a dominating hierarchy, and lived up to its ideals of religious freedom for every citizen.

C. S. L.

Drastic Sunday Observance Legislation Proposed

NOAH W. COOPER, chairman of the Sabbath Crusade Committee of the Tennessee Conference, Methodist Church South, in an interview published in the Nashville *Tennessean* of April 25, 1934, said that he would attend the General Conference of the M. E. Church South at Jackson, Mississippi, to wage an active fight "in behalf of the movement to stop trains, airplanes, boats, bus travel, newspapers, and all businesses operated for profit on Sundays."

In outlining his program for stricter Sunday observance legislation, which he wants the Methodist Episcopal General Conference to adopt, Mr. Cooper said:

"I start tomorrow for Jackson to plead that our church make an active canvass for a Sabbath day's rest from all money-making business, excepting only actual necessities and charities. This would mean that there would be no Sunday work or money-making business in newspaper publishing, trains, airplanes, bus lines, or boat service."

Mr. Cooper has made repeated trips to Washington, accompanied by delegates representing nineteen conferences of the Methodist Church South, requesting Congress to enact a compulsory Sunday observance law stopping the operation of all Sunday trains throughout the entire country, stopping the publication of all Sunday newspapers, and to prohibit every activity on Sunday which was not of a strictly religious nature.

Mr. Cooper asserts that it is just as bad to break a Sunday law as it is to murder a man. He makes no difference between a religious and a civil obligation, or between a sinful act according to a church creed and a criminal act according to a civil law.

If the church and the state are one institution, and if the obligations we owe to one are the same as we owe to the other, then, of course, the state would be justified in enforcing religious obligations under our penal codes. But in America that is not the case. Here we are supposed to have separation of church and state, and religious obligations are not to be enforced under duress of the civil magistrate. Therefore, Sunday observance laws, as well as all other religious obligations, should never be enforced by the state. A failure to draw a line of distinction between the duties we owe to religion and the duties we owe to the civil government, has been the primary cause of all religious persecutions in the past, and has always resulted in a union of church and state.

C. S. L.

Sparks From the Editor's Anvil

MOST men substitute the rule of gold for the golden rule.

HE is a fool who guides his ship by a flying meteor instead of a fixed star.

SOMETIMES a nation, like a sick man, has to get worse before it can get better.

THE maximum span of life is often measured by the contents of the pay envelope.

NO one is a true follower of Jesus who is tainted with religious bigotry and intolerance.

Too much power is like too much alcohol—it goes to the head and intoxicates the brain.

A WISE man never prejudges a case, but reserves his judgment until all the facts are known.

THE dictates of conscience refuse to surrender to any other dictatorship in religious matters.

THE future greatness of a country is measured by its attitude toward the rights of the minority.

SOME folks are so self-opinionated that they believe their opinions constitute the infallible laws of nature.

THE true spirit of Christianity advances without a fanfare of trumpets and without the sword of Cæsar.

A DICTATOR may regulate the political affairs of a nation; but when he touches the religious faith of the people, he does so at his peril.

A HYPOCRITE is one who extends you an open hand to disarm your fears, while holding a clenched fist behind his back to knock you down.

FREE criticism of governmental actions is an inalienable right under a free government, but for this right the individual must accept full responsibility.

A FINE suit never made a gentleman; a fancy label never made the contents of a bottle genuine; and a "Christian nation" decision never made a single Christian.

THE love of power in public office, like tyranny, feeds avariciously upon the people's rights when given an opportunity.

BUREAUCRACY is a pestiferous weed that thrives most in troublous times, checking the growth of popular government.

RELIGION is indispensable, but it should not be dispensed by law under duress of the civil magistrate.

WHEN a religion lacks divine authority for its tenets, it resorts to legal authority to make up the lack.

BUREAUCRATS are petty kings and dictators to whom the government surrenders its authority in a crisis.

GOVERNMENT by bureaucracy is destructive of democracy and of the people's constitutional rights.

A CHRISTIAN does a great act when he appeases the wrath of his enemy with the spirit of charity.

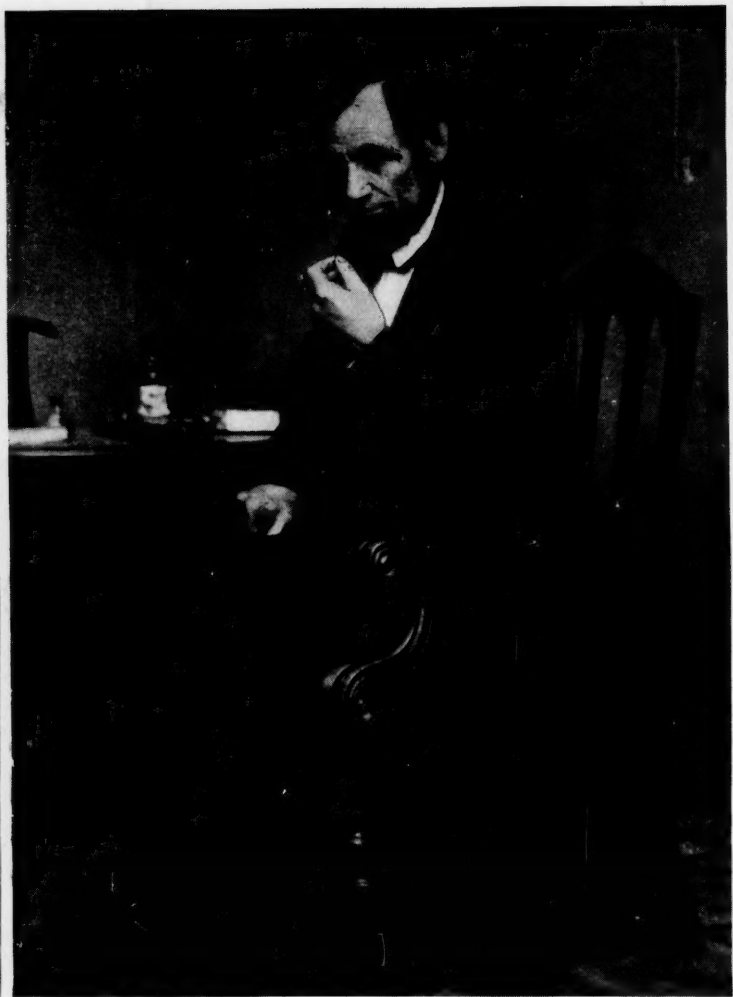
THE greatest handicap to the progress of civilization is a failure to discern the lessons of history.

AN immoral man needs religion, but it will do him no good if administered in legal doses.

EVERY religion has been afflicted with the disease of religious persecution of dissenters.

UNLESS self-expression is balanced by self-restraint, liberty becomes a curse to society.

WHAT right have we to demand perfection in others when they cannot find it in us?



"THE PEOPLE OF THESE UNITED STATES ARE THE RIGHTFUL MASTERS OF BOTH CONGRESS AND COURTS, NOT TO OVERTHROW THE CONSTITUTION, BUT TO OVERTHROW THE MEN WHO PERVERT THE CONSTITUTION."—*Abraham Lincoln.*

